

Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 PRS-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:JCHAMBERLAIN:MDR
APPROVED BY PA:WDYESS
S/S - PSEBASTIAN
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
PA, S/S, S/PRS

-----290100Z 016231 /61
O 290016Z MAR 77 ZFF4
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UNCLAS STATE 069013 TOSEC 030051

NO. 4 FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT DAVID BINDER PAGE THREE BYLINER NEW YORK TIMES MONDAY MARCH 28 HEADED "GERMANS VISIT U.S. TO TALK AS WELL AS LISTEN/BONN OFFICIALS' DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON UNDERSCORE NEW SENSE OF EQUALITY."

2. FOR DECADES IT HAS BEEN AXIOMATIC IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S OFFICE OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN AFFAIRS THAT "EVERY WEEK IS GERMAN WEEK"--SO FULL IS THE CALENDAR OF OFFICIAL VISITORS FROM WEST GERMANY AND, MORE RECENTLY, FROM EAST GERMANY AS WELL. IN THE PAST IT WAS A RITUAL FOR EVERY ASPIRING WEST GERMAN POLITICIAN TO BE SEEN AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR IN WASHINGTON, IF POSSIBLE BY THE PRESIDENT. TROUPES OF BONN POLITICIANS STILL MAKE THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE.
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3. BUT THE PRESENCE RECENTLY IN WASHINGTON OF BONN'S MINISTERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE PERSONIFIED SOMETHING NEW IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

4. THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HANS-DIETRICH

GENSCHER, AND THE DEFENSE MINISTER, GEORG LEBER, CAME TO BE HEARD RATHER THAN TO BE SEEN--TO SPEAK WITH CARTER ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ON WHAT THEY VIEW AS VITAL WEST GERMAN INTERESTS INVOLVING NUCLEAR POLICY AND ARMS PROCUREMENT.

5. THE WEST GERMANS HAVE COME TO VIEW THEMSELVES AS EQUAL PARTNERS AND THEY EXPECT TO BE TREATED AS SUCH.

6. GONE ARE THE DAYS OF GERMAN LEADERS ACCEPTING A DRESSING DOWN FROM AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT, AS WAS THE CASE IN SEPTEMBER 1966 WHEN CHANCELLOR LUDWIG ERHARD WAS ORDERED TO LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S TEXAS RANCH TO BE TOLD RATHER RUDELY THAT HIS COUNTRY HAD NOT BEEN PAYING ENOUGH TO OFFSET COSTS OF STATIONING UNITED STATES TROOPS IN WEST GERMANY. THE SCENE CONTRIBUTED TO MR. ERHARD'S FALL FROM POWER LATER THAT AUTUMN.

7. GONE ARE THE DAYS WHEN BONN AUTOMATICALLY SUPPORTED ALL UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICIES. TRUE, FORMER CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT KEPT SILENT ABOUT HIS ABHORRENCE OF THE AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN INDOCHINA. BUT HIS ECONOMICS MINISTER, HELMUT SCHMIDT, DID NOT FLINCH FROM TELLING AMERICANS THAT HE DEPLORED THE CHRISTMAS 1972 BOMBING OF HANOI.

8. GONE ARE THE DAYS WHEN THE UNITED STATES COULD DEMAND AND EXPECT PAYMENT OF OFFSET COSTS, WHICH TOTALED MORE THAN \$10 BILLION FROM 1961 TO 1975. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT BURIED UNCLASSIFIED

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THE LONG BURDENSOME AND ANNOYING ISSUE AT A NEWS CONFERENCE IN JUNE 1975, SAYING: "I DO NOT CONSIDER IT A PRESSING PROBLEM." THERE HAVE BEEN NO OFFSET PAYMENTS OR TALKS SINCE THEN.

9. THE MAIN REASON THAT OFFSET PAYMENTS WERE TERMINATED WAS THAT BONN COULD REASONABLY ARGUE THAT IT WAS SPENDING CONSIDERABLE AMOUNTS ON DEFENSE, HAVING TURNED THE BUNDESWEHR INTO THE BIGGEST AND BEST-TRAINED TROOP CONTINGENT IN WESTERN EUROPE, AND WAS NO LONGER SO DEPENDENT UPON AN AMERICAN DEFENSE CONTRIBUTION.

10. IT WAS ANOTHER SORT OF DEFENSE QUESTION THAT BROUGHT MR. LEBER TO WASHINGTON. FOR YEARS, UNITED STATES POLICYMAKERS HAVE PREACHED THAT NATO ARMS PROCUREMENT SHOULD BE "A TWO-WAY STREET." BUT THE PRACTICE HAS BEEN MORE OF A "BUY-AMERICAN" POLICY, WITH THE UNITED STATES RELUCTANT TO CONSIDER EUROPEAN WEAPONS.

11. MR. LEBER CAME HERE TO SAY THAT IF THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT HONOR THE TWO-WAY-STREET POLICY ON TANK COMPONENTS, WEST GERMANY WOULD BALK AT PURCHASES OF AMERICAN-MADE RADAR SURVEILLANCE PLANES.

12. AT THE SAME TIME, MR. GENSCHER WAS HERE TO REITERATE WHAT BONN LEADERS HAVE BEEN SAYING FOR THE LAST 21 MONTHS ON NUCLEAR POLICY--THAT THEY HAD A RIGHT TO A PLACE IN THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET FOR NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY AND THAT THEY DIDN'T NEED AMERICA TO TELL THEM HOW TO HANDLE SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THE SPREAD OF ATOMIC WEAPONS.

13. SPECIFICALLY, HE REPEATED THE WEST GERMAN ARGUMENT THAT A \$5 BILLION SALE TO BRAZIL OF NUCLEAR FACILITIES POSSESSING A POTENTIAL FOR MAKING ATOMIC BOMBS WOULD ENHANCE CURBS ON PROLIFERATION. THE ARGUMENT, REJECTED BY BOTH THE FORD AND CARTER ADMINISTRATIONS, HOLDS THAT THREE-WAY SAFEGUARDS INVOLVING WEST GERMANY, BRAZIL AND THE UNCLASSIFIED

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INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY WOULD BE SUFFICIENT.

14. THE LATEST DISPUTES HAVE CAUSED WEST GERMAN PRESS COMMENTATORS TO SPECULATE THAT THERE IS NOW A "CRISIS" IN BONN-WASHINGTON RELATIONS--AN ESTIMATE REJECTED IN BOTH CAPITALS AS EXTREME IN VIEW OF A SERIES OF TIES THAT HAVE GROWN OVER THE LAST THREE DECADES. HOWEVER, THE SETTING OF THE DISPUTES IS SOMETHING FAR MORE COMPLEX THAN THE BACKDROP OF EARLIER STAGES. IT IS THE SETTING OF A PARTNERSHIP MATURING FROM AN ERA OF TUTELAGE TOWARD EQUALITY.

16. THE FACT IS THAT THE UNITED STATES NOW BEGS WEST GERMANY TO PICK UP BURDENS IT ONCE SHOULDERED ITSELF--GIVING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS, BAILING OUT A BANKRUPT ITALY WITH LOANS, SHIPPING ARMS TO TURKEY, WHERE A CONGRESSIONAL EMBARGO BLOCKED UNITED STATES ARMS DELIVERIES, AND MORE.

17. THE NEW RELATIONSHIP IS SOMETHING THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS INHERITED, NOT CREATED.

18. BUT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ALREADY RECOGNIZED WEST GERMANY'S PREPONDERANCE AMONG AMERICA'S WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES BY CALLING ON THE SCHMIDT GOVERNMENT TO ACTIVATE ITS \$4 BILLION ECONOMIC STIMULUS PACKAGE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE WEST GERMANS, FOR THEIR OWN DOMESTIC REASONS, ARE HOLDING BACK WITH CHARACTERISTIC CAUTION.

19. THIS ISSUE, ALONG WITH THE DISPUTES OVER ARMS

PROCUREMENT AND NUCLEAR POLICY, REPRESENT PROBLEMS THE
CARTER FOREIGN POLICY CAN EASILY EXACERBATE IF THE
REALITIES OF THE NEW RELATIONSHIP ARE IGNORED.

(END TEXT.)

CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 29-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
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Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JCHAMBERLAIN:MDR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770106-0641
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From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770311/aaaaaiux.tel
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Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Message ID: ad8b01b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2958631
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, US, GE, GC, NEW YORK TIMES, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (BINDER, DAVID)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ad8b01b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009